

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /026 W

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FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6927

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 JAKARTA 2793

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EXDIS

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PLOS ID

SUBJ: LOS: US-INDONESIAN CONSULTATIONS

REF: A. STATE 41787 B. JAKARTA 2787 C. JAKARTA 2614

1. IN REF B EMBASSY HAS ATTEMPTED PULL TOGETHER FOR INFORMATION OF DEPARTMENT AND INTERESTED POSTS OUR BEST ESTIMATE OF INDONESIAN APPROACH AT NEXT LOS CONFERENCE IN GENEVA. ESTIMATE BASED ON EXTENSIVE CONVERSATION WITH MARSHAL SUDARMONO MARCH 5 AND PRIOR CONVERSATIONS WITH SUDARMONO AND MOCHTAR. FOLLOWING ARE ADDITIONAL INSIGHTS FOR DEPARTMENT'S INFORMATION.

2. SUDARMONO INFORMED ME THAT FORMAL POSITIONS FOR LOS CONFERENCE NOW VIRTUALLY COMPLETED, FOLLOWING SERIES OF INTERAGENCY MEETINGS. IT APPEARS CLEAR NOW THAT WHATEVER WE ACHIEVE IN INDONESIA SUPPORT FOR STRAITS TRANSIT MUST BE WITHOUT DAMAGE TO THEIR NON-ALIGNED RELATIONSHIP.

3. SUDARMONO REPEATED WHAT HE HAD PREVIOUSLY TOLD US (JAKARTA 2212) ABOUT NEED FOR "PACKAGE." HE ALSO SAID INDONESIAN SUPPORT FOR EIGHTER UK TRANSIT PACKAGE PROPOSAL OR SOVIET L-11 PROPOSAL WOULD BE DIFFICULT BECAUSE THESE PROPOSALS HAVE ALREADY ENCOUNTERED OPPOSITION FROM THIRD

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WORLD COUNTRIES. FOR SAME REASON HE RULED OUT ANY

PROPOSAL USING TERMS "FREE PASSAGE." AT ONE POINT IN CONVERSATION, IN VERY SERIOUS TONES, SUDARMONO SAID THAT ONE INDONESIAN AMBASSADOR HAS REPORTED THAT US REPRESENTATIVES WERE SAYING THAT, FOLLOWING CONSULTATIONS WITH US, INDONESIA HAD BACKED AWAY FROM POSITIONS IT HAD DEVELOPED WITH OTHER STATES. SUCH STORIES, HE SAID, ARE VERY UNHELPFUL (UNDOUBTEDLY HE ALSO HAD REFERENCE TO DAMAGE OF SUCH STORIES TO HIS OWN POSITION AMONG GOVERNMENT POLICY MAKERS). I ASSURED HIM THIS WAS NOT POSITION WE WERE TAKING IN DISCUSSING OUR CONVERSATIONS WITH INDONESIA.

4. ON STRAITS, SUDARMONO EXPRESSED HIS PERSONAL VIEW THAT UNITED STATES SHOULD SUBMIT NEW PROPOSAL DRAWING UPON SUBSTANCE OF PREVIOUS UK AND SOVIET STATEMENTS. MOVEMENT OF US FROM PREVIOUS POSITION ON FREE TRANSIT AND NEW PROPOSAL MIGHT GIVE IMPULSUS TO BROAD WORLD SUPPORT. SUDARMONO SAID HE ENCOURAGED TO THINK THIS BECAUSE MANY NATIONS IN GROUP OF 77 APPEAR NOW TO BE PREPARED TO MOVE AWAY FROM INNOCENT PASSAGE. INDONESIA PREPARED TO ACCEPT PROPOSAL WHICH WOULD NOT REQUIRE NOTIFICATION. SUDARMONO FELT IMPORTANT DECISIONS WOULD NOT BE MADE BEFORE THIRD OR FOURTH WEEK OF CONFERENCE, IMPLYING NEW TRANSIT REGIME PROPOSAL SHOULD BE MADE SOME TIME BEFORE THEN.

51 ARCHIPELAGO CONCEPT: SUDARMONO SAID THAT BETWEEN US AND INDONESIA THERE NO PROBLEMS ON BASE LINES OR RATIOS. WE STILL DIFFER ON WIDTH OF SEA LANES WITH "INDONESIAN POSITION CALLING FOR 20 MILES." AS TO AIR CORRIDORS, INDONESIA DOES NOT BELIEVE US NEEDS ACCOMMODATION FOR PISTON OR TURBOPROP CRAFT AND WOULD PROPOSE A 5,000 FOOT CORRIDOR FOR JETS AT UPPER LIMIT OF THEIR CAPACITY. SUDARMONO REMARKED THAT HE HAD GIVEN ME ONLY PORTIONS OF INDONESIA'S NEGOTIATING STANCE, IMPLYING THERE MAY BE SOME NEGOTIATING FLEXIBILITY.

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 JAKARTA 2793

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6. I ASKED SUDARMONO HOW HE VIEWED INDONESIA'S BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS WITH USSR AND ASEAN NATIONS. SUDARMONO SAID THAT, FOR VARIOUS UNDERSTANDABLE REASONS, INCLUDING GEOGRAPHIC, AGREEMENT WITH USSR SEEMED EASIER THAN WITH US, THOUGH HE ADMITTED SOVIETS WERE INSISTENT ON FREE PASSAGE THROUGH STRAITS(REF C). SUDARMONO SAID INDONESIA'S BILATERAL TALKS WITH ASEAN BRETHERN NOW COMPLETE, COMMENTING THAT, DURING TALKS WITH FILIPINOS, LATTER HAD CHANGED POSITION DRASTICALLY AND TAKEN MUCH MORE FAVORABLE STANCE ON ARCHIPELAGO CONCEPT, ALTHOUGH STILL HOLDING TO HISTORIC WATERS POSITION. (NOTE: SUDARMONO'S OPTIMISM DOES NOT SEEM TO SQUARE WITH WHAT INDONESIAN DCM TOLD EMBASSY MANILA).

7. I REMARKED TO SUDARMONO THAT I HAD IMPRESSION SOME WITHIN GOI MIGHT BE TEMPTED, FOR POLITICAL REASONS, TO SEEK AT LOS CONFERENCE ACCEPTANCE OF ARCHIPELAGO CONCEPT BY NUMERICALLY STRONG LDC GROUPING, WITHOUT MAKING ARRANGEMENTS ON TRANSIT WHICH WOULD BE REQUIRED TO OBTAIN MARITIME POWER SUPPORT(REF C). SUDARMONO REPLIED THAT IT IS GOI POSITION TO SEEK ARRANGEMENTS AT LOS CONFERENCE WHICH WOULD HAVE SUPPORT OF ALL ELEMENTS, INCLUDING MARITIME POWERS, AND THAT EVEN POSTPONING AGREEMENT FOR SEVERAL YEARS MIGHT BE BETTER THAN ARRIVING AT A "POLITICAL SOLUTION" WHICH MARITIME POWERS WOULD IGNORE. HE ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT, IF INDONESIA DID DECIDE TO GO THIS ROUTE,

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IT WOULD BE FOR POLITICAL REASONS.

8. WHEN I RAISED QUESTION OF POSSIBLE US-INDONESIAN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS PRIOR TO OR AT BEGINING OF GENEVA CONFERENCE, SUDARMONO SAID HE WOULD WELCOME SUCH FURTHER EXCHANGE. HE CONFIRMED, HOWEVER, THAT NEITHER HE NOR MOCHTAR WILL ATTEND OPENING AT GENEVA OR WOULD BE AVAIL-ABLE TO GO TO WASHINGTON PRIOR TO THEN (REF C), ADDING THAT MEMBER OF US LOS TEAM WOULD BE WELCOME TO VISIT JAKARTA "ON WAY TO GENEVA."

9. SUDARMONO SAID THAT HE WOULD BE IN GENEVA ALL MONTH

OF APRIL, WHICH HE THOUGHT WOULD BE MOST IMPORTANT PERIOD OF CONFERENCE, WHEREAS MOCHTAR, CAUGHT UP BY DUTIES IN JAKARTA, WOULD HAVE TO MAKE A SERIES OF SHORT TRIPS TO GENEVA. SUDARMONO WOULD WELCOME CHANCE TO MEET WITH US TEAM BILATERALLY WHEN IN GENEVA. WHO WILL HEAD INDONESIAN TEAM AT OPENING NOT YET DECIDED. BELOW MOCHTAR, THERE ARE FOUR DEPUTIES; SUDARMONO HIMSELF, FONDPT DIRGEN FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS DJAJADININGRAT, UN AMBASSADOR ANWAR SANI, AND AMBASSADOR TO AUSTRIA (AND FORMER HEAD OF FONDPT INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS DIRECTORATE) ABDULLAH KAMIL. (DEPARTMENT HAS BIO INFORMATION ON ALL)

10. COMMENT: IT NOW SEEMS CLEAR WE WILL NOT RPT NOT BE ABLE TO REALIZE HOPE OF AGREEMENT AND MUTUAL EXPRESSION OF SUPPORT FOR ARCHIPELAGO AND STRAITS WITH INDONESIA PRIOR TO LOS CONFERENCE. ON POSITIVE SIDE, HOWEVER, INDONESIAN STILL HOPE FOR MARITIME POWER SUPPORT AND ARE PREPARED IN SOME POLITICALLY SUITABLE FORM TO ENDORSE WHAT AMOUNTS TO FREE PASSAGE. SUDARMONO APPARENTLY LIKELY TO HEAD DELEGATION THROUGH MOST CRITICAL PERIOD, ALTHOUGH HE WILL CONTINUE TO BE UNDER POLITICAL RESTRAINTS FROM HOME. GIVEN DELICATE SITUATION, IT REMAINS IMPORTANT THAT WE NOT INTERPRET INDONESIAN POSITION TO OTHERS UNTIL WE HAVE CLEAR BASIS WITH THEM FOR TOTAL AGREEMENT. WHILE RECOGNIZING MAJOR DIFFICULTIES WE WOULD HAVE IN PROPOSING STILL ANOTHER DRAFT ON STRAITS TRANSIT, BEST HOPE FOR AGREEMENT SEEMS CURRENTLY TO LIE IN NEW INITIATIVE FROM OUR SIDE IN GENEVA THAT WILL WRAP FREE TRANSIT
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IN NEW AND MORE ACCEPTABLE LANGUAGE.
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Message Attributes

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